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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on 29 April 1993, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. HAYES (Ireland)
(Vice-President)

- Adoption of the agenda and organization of work [8] (continued)

  (a) Letter from the President of the Security Council

  (b) Draft resolution

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Hayes (Ireland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 8 (continued)

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK

(a) LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (A/47/933)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.57)

The PRESIDENT: In connection with the consideration of this item, a letter addressed to the President of the General Assembly from the President of the Security Council has been circulated in document A/47/933.

The General Assembly also has before it a draft resolution issued as document A/47.L.57.

In view of the desire of the members to dispose of this item expeditiously, I should like to propose that we proceed immediately to take a decision on the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.57 and, in this connection, to waive the relevant provision of rule 78 of the rules of procedure, which reads as follows:

"As a general rule, no proposal shall be discussed or put to the vote at any meeting of the General Assembly unless copies of it have been circulated to all delegations not later than the day preceding the meeting."

Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees with this proposal.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Denmark, to introduce the draft resolution.

Mr. HAAKONSEN (Denmark): I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.57, the sponsors of which include the 12 States members of the European Community and a number of other States.

On 22 September 1992, the General Assembly, acting upon the recommendation of the Security Council, as contained in resolution 777 (1992), adopted resolution 47/1, in which the Assembly considered that

> "the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) cannot continue automatically the membership of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nations; and therefore decides that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) should apply for membership in the United Nations and that it shall not participate in the work of the General Assembly."

Yesterday the Security Council adopted resolution 821 (1993), in which the Council reiterates its position with regard to the claim to continuity by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and thus reaffirms that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) cannot continue automatically the membership of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nations, and recommends to the General Assembly that, further to the decisions taken in resolution 47/1, it decide that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) shall not participate in the work of the Economic and Social Council.

The course of events in the seven months that have passed since the General Assembly adopted resolution 47/1 has clearly demonstrated that the message sent by that resolution has not been taken into account by the authorities in Belgrade. This highly regrettable fact necessitates the adoption of the present draft resolution by the General Assembly. By excluding the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) from the

(Mr. Haakonsen, Denmark)

work of the Economic and Social Council also, the General Assembly builds upon the groundwork laid by resolution 47/1 and sends the unequivocal message to Belgrade that the patience of the States Members of the United Nations is not unlimited.

It must be made clear to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) that continued disregard for the resolve of the international community will only serve to isolate the Republic further. In this connection, it should be kept in mind that in the resolution adopted yesterday by the Security Council it was decided that the Council would consider the matter again before the end of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

I hope that the decision the Assembly is being invited to take today will serve to open the eyes of the authorities in Belgrade, who will then draw the logical conclusion and thus obviate the need for further action by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

With those words I commend, on behalf of its sponsors, the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.57 to the Assembly.

Mr. MISIC (Bosnia and Herzegovina): The delegation of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina holds the view that the draft resolution before us this morning is redundant. In seeking to expel Serbia and Montenegro from the Economic and Social Council, this draft resolution puts in place a reality that should have existed immediately following the adoption of Security Council resolution 777 (1992) and General Assembly resolution 47/1.

In those resolutions the international community confirmed that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had ceased to exist and that Serbia and Montenegro could not automatically continue the membership of that defunct political entity.

(Mr. Misic, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Despite the just intentions of the two resolutions and the understanding of the vast majority of delegations in the Assembly, Serbia and Montenegro have in large part assumed the place of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nation. The nameplate of the so-called Yugoslavia remains among us even today. Despite the desire of the Assembly to implement fully its resolutions, the flag of a non-existent nation continues to fly in front of this building. Despite the clarity of that resolution which was adopted by an overwhelming majority, the representatives of a non-member entity continue to circulate documents within this lofty body, a right reserved for Member States only.

(Mr. Misic, Bosnia and Herzegovina)

So that my delegation's position will not be misconstrued in any way, I emphasize that we welcome the reality that the present resolution will achieve. We hope that the Assembly's intentions that remain unfufilled under its resolution 47/1 will soon become realities also. Indeed, we welcome any actions taken by the international community to compel Belgrade to reverse its current policies of genocide. My delegation believes that diplomatic isolation is a small, although an important, feature in bringing about this desirable change. To that end, my delegation hopes that the international community will take those remaining steps that will ensure that the rule of international law prevails over tyranny.

Might I also point out that the name "Yugoslavia" is the collective property of all the former Yugoslav republics, which chose that name to represent them. No single republic or group of republics has the right to usurp that name, as Serbia and Montenegro have done. I hope that the Security Council and the General Assembly will take account of this matter when Serbia and Montenegro might choose to rejoin this great body.

My delegation looks forward to the day when Serbia and Montenegro will become full-fledged Members of this institution. The people of Serbia and Montenegro deserve this right, and we hope that they will have leaders who will give their people this right and the dignity reserved for all mankind - the dignity and rights guaranteed by the Charter of this institution and the dignity and rights respected by all its Members.

Mr. NOBILO (Croatia): The whole record of the international community's efforts to stop the Serbian aggression against the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is full of half-measures, semi-solutions and bad compromises. The United Nations peace-keeping force

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

in Croatia has frozen the situation on the battlefield, but UNPROFOR has no mandate to fulfil its task, starting with the return of displaced persons to their homes. The role of UNPROFOR has been extended in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to help feed the besieged people - but without ending the slaughter; the Serbian genocidal policy has been widely condemned, but the mere presence of the Serbs at the negotiating table has been considered to be a big benefit. The first package of economic sanctions was too weak and prolonged the agony for another year; a call was made for the establishment of a war-crimes tribunal, but so far no mechanism has been provided that would be sufficient to punish the war criminals.

While the Security Council and the General Assembly concluded that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had ceased to exist and that Serbia and Montenegro must therefore apply for membership in the General Assembly, Belgrade has continued to take the seat of former Yugoslavia in many United Nations and other international organizations. Unchallenged in their campaign of "ethnic cleansing", Belgrade representatives have been permitted to demonstrate their arrogance before the Security Council. The flag of Communist Yugoslavia has continued to fly on the mast in front of the United Nations, although the flag and the country it represents ceased to exist many months ago.

The Government of the Republic of Croatia welcomes Security Council resolution 821 (1993), in which the Council has recommended to the General Asssembly that it deny the right of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to continue to participate in the work of the Economic and Social Council. But we should go further. Serbia and Montenegro must be expelled from all United Nations agencies, organs, bodies and programmes in which they have usurped

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

the place of the former Yugoslavia. It is also necessary that the Member States of the United Nations withdraw diplomatic recognition from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and demonstrate that only those countries that respect the provisions of international law can be members of the international community.

The international community has to place the Belgrade regime in complete international isolation through a combination of economic, political and military measures if the world seriously intends to end the suffering of millions of innocent civilians and to resolve the biggest existing threat to international security. The more drastic these measures are, the shorter will be the agony of millions in the besieged towns and refugee camps, the shorter will be the tragedy of civilians in Serbia and Montenegro who are paying the harsh price for the expansionistic ambitions of their militant leaders.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): The action we have taken today is more than justified. Serbian behaviour makes it necessary and the claim of the Federal Republic to membership in international organizations is legally invalid.

My Government looks forward to the day when we can support the application of Serbia and Montenegro for admission to the United Nations. Unfortunately, that day appears to be far away. Just yesterday the Bosnian Serbs launched new attacks on Bosnian Government positions near Bihac. Gross violations of human rights continue. There are close to 2 million displaced persons. Many have been killed, and physically and mentally abased. It appears that the Serbs are making a special effort to show their contempt for this institution.

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

The Belgrade authorities must end their support for the Bosnian Serbs. They must end their support for aggression in Bosnia and Croatia. The international community and the Security Council have gone on record as demanding that the Bosnian Serbs sign and implement the peace plan which the other two parties have signed. Until that day they will remain international pariahs.

The United States will support the application of Serbia and Montenegro for membership in this Organization when - and only when - Serbia and Montenegro meet the criteria in the United Nations Charter; that is, when Serbia and Montenegro show their willingess to become a peace-loving State and demonstrate their willingness to comply fully with Chapter VII resolutions of the Security Council.

Finally, we note with approval that a number of United Nations specialized agencies, including the International Civil Aviation Organization, the World Intellectual Property Organization, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, have taken similar action to exclude participation by Serbia and Montenegro. We stress our firm belief that such action is appropriate in the light of General Assembly resolution 47/1 and today's resolution and believe that other specialized agencies should follow their lead.

Mr. BRAHA (Albania): My delegation welcomes Security Council resolution 821 (1993), which was adopted yesterday and in which the Council recommends to the General Assembly that it decide that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) shall not participate in the work of the Economic and Social Council. We consider this resolution to be an expression

(Mr. Braha, Albania)

of the serious concern of the international community in respect to the status of the entity temporarily called the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Now we are dealing with a draft resolution, sponsored by Denmark as the current Chairman of the European Communities and co-sponsored by many other countries, which we strongly believe will be adopted unanimously. Albania has also joined the sponsors of this draft resolution and calls for its adoption.

We consider the exclusion of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from participation in the work of the Economic and Social Council to be a step towards the clarification of its position in the United Nations and a clear signal to the Belgrade authorities that the international community is not going to tolerate the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina any longer.

A long time has passed since 22 September 1992, when the General Assembly adopted resolution 47/1, in which the Assembly stipulated that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) could not continue automatically the membership of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nations, and therefore decided that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) should apply for membership in the United Nations.

(Mr. Braha, Albania)

Since that time, the entity called the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has continued to claim the continuity of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and act accordingly. The war has been going on for the past two years on territories of the former Yugoslavia. The bloody massacres in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which have been the result of Serbian aggression there, continue. The oppression of the Albanian people of Kosovo has been aggravated, making the situation there extremely dangerous.

Recently, I read in a press release of the United Nations Department of Public Information that the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories is composed of the representatives of Sri Lanka, Senegal and Yugoslavia. This is a paradox. An aggressor to whom a human life - let alone that of a nation - does not count takes part in an investigation Committee on human rights violations. It is also a paradox that a country which is trying to exterminate a people should remain a member of such a distinguished body of the United Nations in the field of human rights as the Economic and Social Council.

While the international community is involved in the efforts to bring to an end the bloodshed and the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we note to our regret that they who have been provoking and encouraging the war remain in the United Nations and its bodies. We believe that the unclear position of Serbia and Montenegro within the United Nations is a temporary one and at the same time we call for a strict implementation of the relevant resolutions.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate.

In addition to the countries listed in document A/47/L.57, the following countries have become sponsors of the draft resolution: Afghanistan, Albania, Australia, Bahrain, Canada, the Comoros, Djibouti, Estonia, Greece, Iran,

(The President)

Kuwait, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Morocco, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, the Republic of Moldova, San Marino, Senegal, Slovenia, Tunisia and the United Arab Emirates.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/47/L.57. A recorded vote has been requested. Since mechanical means of voting are not available, we shall proceed to a roll-call vote.

A roll-call vote was taken.

China, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Belize, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Latvia, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Marshall Islands, Maurit[illegible] Micronesia (Federated States of), Mongolia, Morocc[illegible] Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, San Marino, Senegal, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Spain, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela

Against: None

Abstaining: Cameroon, China, India, Iraq, Kenya, Lesotho, Mexico, Myanmar, Russian Federation, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe

Draft resolution A/47/L.57 was adopted by 107 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 47/229).* **

The PRESIDENT: We have concluded this stage of our consideration of agenda item 8.

The meeting rose at 11.10 a.m.

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* During the course of the roll-call vote, Papua New Guinea announced that it was not participating.

** Subsequently, the delegation of Saudi Arabia advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour; and the delegations of Botswana and Ghana that they had intended to abstain.